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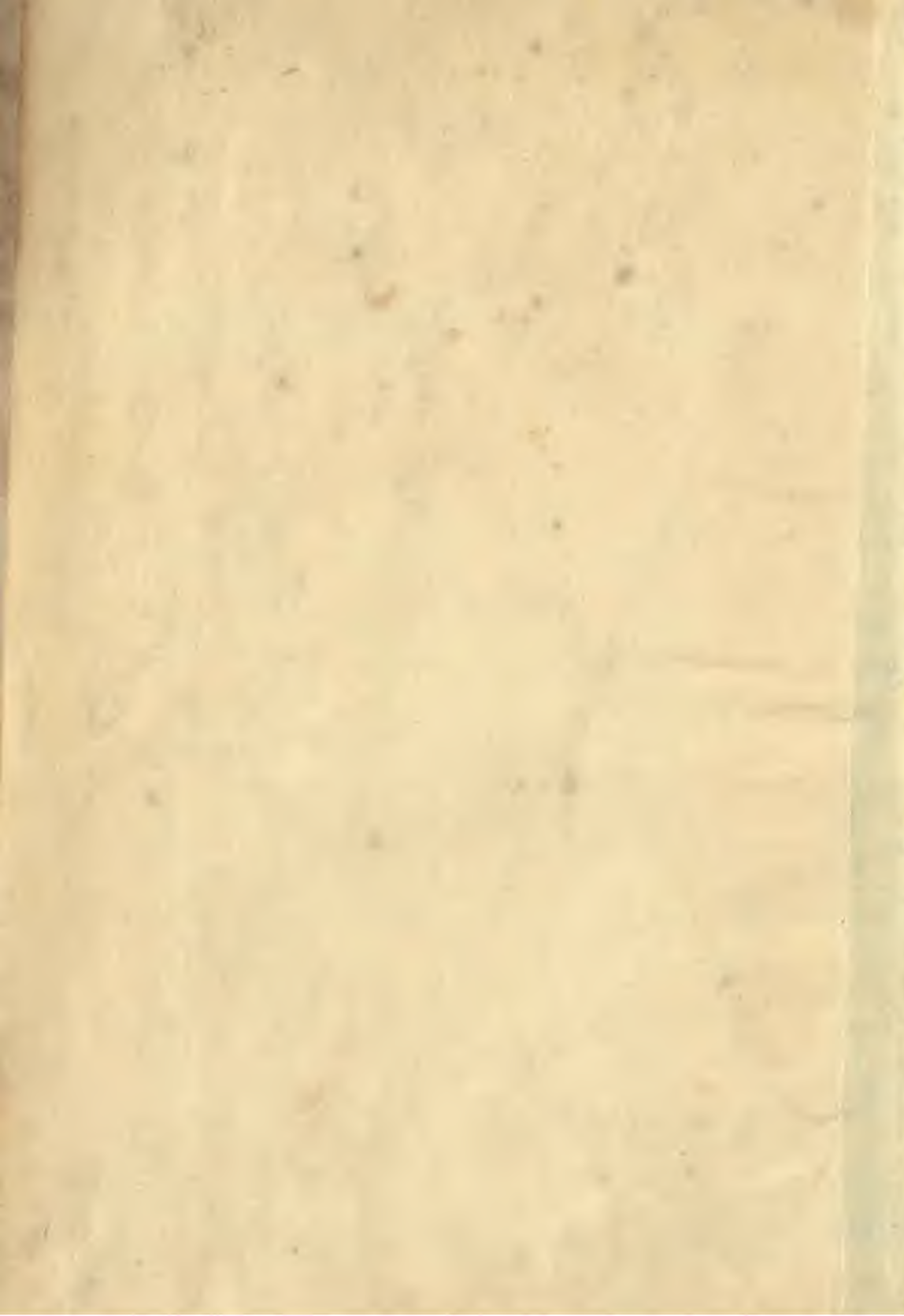
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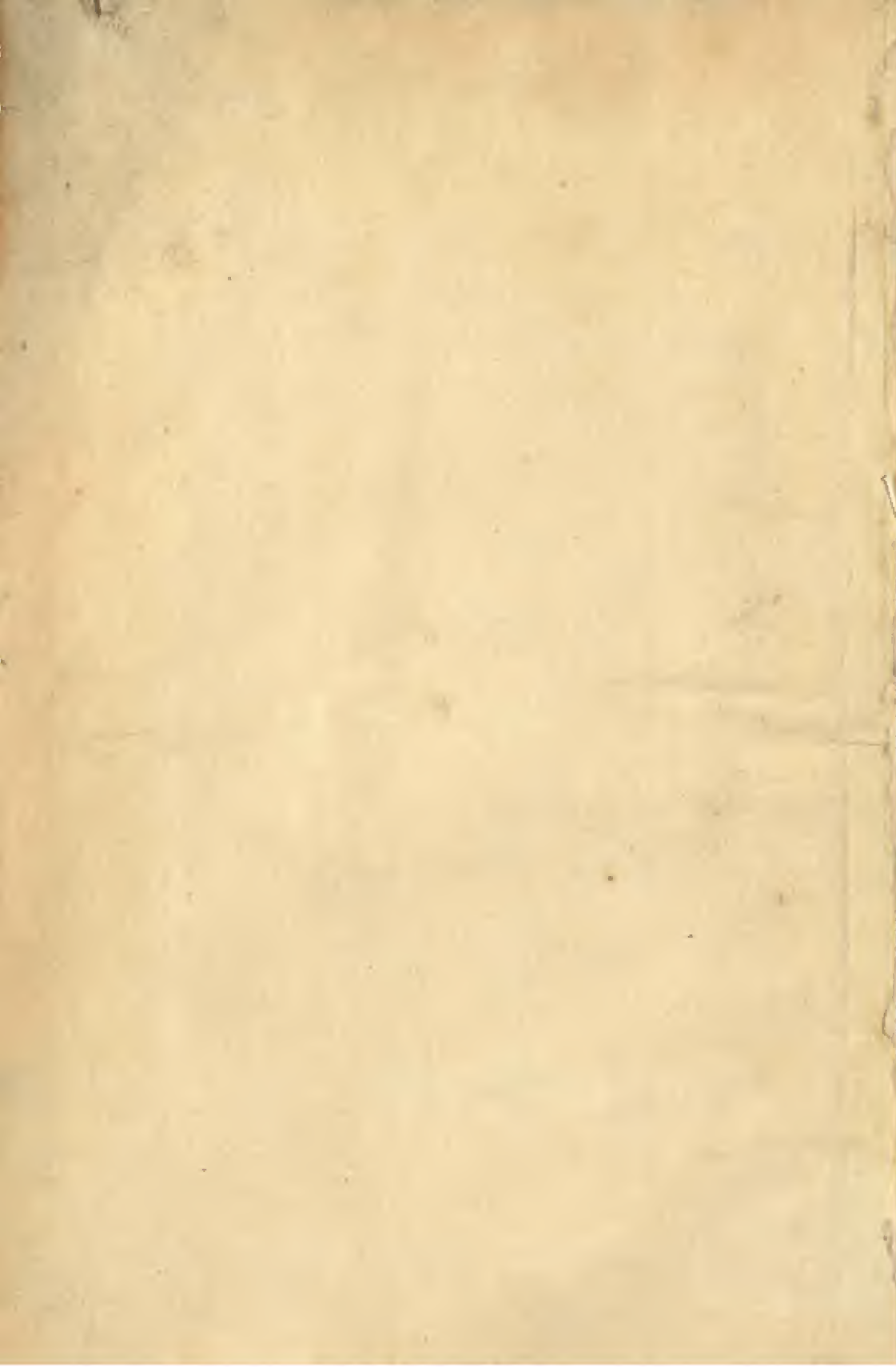
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PUSHKALAYATI







PUSHKALAVATI

— The Lotus City



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AHMAD HASAN DANI



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ARCHAEOLOGICAL GUIDE SERIES NO. 1

PUSHKALAVATI

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FOREWORD

This is the first of a series of guidebooks to be published by the Department of Archaeology of the University of Peshawar. The aim of the series is to arouse public interest in the chief monuments of the Gandhara region, and to create a public consciousness that they may respect and seek to preserve these remains of our cultural heritage. The books are thus not directed towards the scholar, but towards the ordinary man. For this reason it is proposed to publish simultaneously in English and in Pashto. I hope the public will encourage us by accepting this humble attempt.

Mohammad Ali,
Vice-Chancellor,
University of Peshawar.

Dated 18-9-1963.

Presented by the Author on 11/1/65 -

PUSHKALAVATI, or Pukhalavadi in the Prakrit language, or Peukela as the Greeks pronounced, is the old capital city of Gandhara—the country denoting, par excellence, the Peshawar valley in West Pakistan. In hoary antiquity Gandhara was known for its “fine sheep wool”, and later in the historical period it gave rise to the fine stone and stucco sculpture belonging to the famous Gandhara school of art. Throughout the centuries Gandhara evolved a culture of its own based on the economy of its main resource—the river Kabul and its tributaries. Pushkalavati embodies the first flowering of this culture. In the history of Pushkalavati alone can be traced those elements of the culture that underlie the very bases of the Gandharan life.

Pushkalavati is a name long forgotten in history, the last reference being recorded in the account of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, in 7th century A.D. It was left to the British archaeologist, General Cunningham, to rediscover the traces of this lost city in the scattered ruins that now lie between the different distributaries of the river Swat near the point where it joins the river Kabul. The tallest and most dominating of the mounds was long remembered by the local villagers as *Hisar* (meaning fort) probably because it was used as a fort in the 18th and 19th centuries, and that is how we find it mentioned in the geographical notes of Major Raverty in 1880. But the villagers seem to have preserved a still older form in the name of another mound, which they call *Rajar*, correctly *Rajagarh*, or *Rajagriha*, meaning royal palace. Though the palace still remains to be identified, it is certain that the villagers have no definite memory about the old city, a conclusion which follows from the name of another mound, popularly known as *Shahr-i-Napursan*, literally meaning ‘a neglected city’. It is probably a fitting honour to this dead relic that the surround-

ing area today embraces an enormous graveyard, a permanent resting place of the dead for many centuries, perhaps as ancient as Pushkalavati itself.

On its ruins now stands the new town of Charsadda, 20 miles north-east of Peshawar. It is the headquarters of a *tehsil* (sub-division), long known as *Ash-nagar* (correctly *Ashta-nagara*), or the modern Persianised form *Hasht-Nagar*, meaning "eight towns", chosen as such for its commanding the four (*char*) routes (*sadda*) that emerge from this town to four different directions. Tradition is not certain whether the term, *Ash-Nagar*, refers to eight (or more) older mounds of ruined cities in this area, or the newly founded towns that cluster round the old ruins. However, human memory is short though old survivals sometimes do give us a clue. In the name *Ash-Nagar* it may not be fanciful to recognise the *city of Ash* or *Ashtakas*, the people who lived in this part at the time of Alexander's invasion, whose king was hence referred to as "Astes", correctly *Ashtaka-raja*. Still earlier *Ashtakas* are mentioned in this region by Panini, the world famous grammarian, who lived at Salatura, modern Lahur in the Swabi *Tehsil* of Mardan district. But their stories are no more heard from the mouths of the villagers today. What we learn is just the tradition recorded in 1874 by a local writer, Munshi Gopaldas, in *Tawarikh-i-Peshawar*. There it is said that the new name Charsadda is due to the Afghan conqueror Ilyas Khan Muhammadzai, who some thirteen generations ago made new settlements in this area. Charsadda preserves the name of one of his four sons. Whether this tradition is true or not, Charsadda is definitely a new addition which hardly preserves any memory of Pushkalavati or Ashtanagara.

But in one respect the name Charsadda is very significant. Not only in name but in actual fact, Charsadda is a meeting point of four roads, and as

such it recalls the importance of the place where once stood the capital city of Pushkalavati, the capital occupying a site not far from the actual confluence of Kabul and Swat rivers. It would therefore be no wonder if the "city of Caspatyrus" mentioned by Herodotus, should be Pushkalavati, for it is here that the Indus explorer, Scylax of Caryanda, could make a real start in his journey down the river. Below the junction the river Kabul is navigable, and therefore it is natural to expect that it provided in the past an easy means of communication. A series of *dheris* (mounds marking the sites of former settlements) on its northern bank bears witness to this line of communication which impinged directly on the Indus. Leaving aside this eastern route which led towards the markets of the Gangetic valley in northern India, the upper Kabul river through the western hills has been an age-long caravan route connecting the valley of Peshawar with that of the main Kabul, called by the Greeks Paropamisadae,—a route which was in use much before the present Khyber pass became an international highway. Again the river Swat connected this valley with those of Swat (Souastene of the Greeks), Panchkora (Gouraios of the Greeks) and Bajaur, or correctly Vajrapura. This northern route was the most frequented highway in the past, connecting Pushkalavati with many cities in Central Asia. The fourth was the southern route which led to the area irrigated by the Bara river, and through it into Tira valley and beyond to Kurram and Ghazni. It was hardly realised then that some day Pushkalavati would be pushed back by a city on the Bara represented today by Peshawar.

What was the circumstance that led to this change? There is no clear answer available today. Sir Mortimer Wheeler's suggestion, that the opening of the Khyber pass by the Kushanas may have led to the advancement of Peshawar, lacks corroboration. Khyber is not known to have been a caravan route in

the past, though reckless commandos could push their forces through this pass. On the other hand a study of the mounds (see map at the end) near Charsadda, based on their geographical location in relation to the many changes in the river courses, suggests a possible cause in the decline of the city. Natural calamities are of paramount importance in deciding the fate of a city. It must, however, be remembered that the city was never given up even when Peshawar became the capital. The evidence of Hiuen Tsang is a clear testimony to its survival, while the preservation of the old name, *Ash-Nagar*, speaks of the continuity of the old tradition. The people *Ashtakas* are dead and gone, and are replaced today by the Muhammadzai Pakhtuns. Similarly the old capital is concealed in the ruins of numerous mounds that can be seen from the road that goes from Peshawar to Charsadda. The way in which the mounds are cut by rivers, depositing silt and sand in their devastating tracks, suggests natural calamities, in the shape of sudden changes in the river courses, to have been the main cause for the decline of the city. However, men proved wiser by their experience and learnt to build anew on the fresh banks that the rivers had made for themselves. Only on this supposition can we explain the gradual survival and shifting of the town to its present position.

First to attract the attention is the *Bala-Hisar* mound, actually there are two mounds, approachable by a pathway from the main Peshawar road just where it makes a sharp bend towards the river Jinde (a branch of Swat river) immediately before the bridge that acts as a gateway to the modern town of Charsadda. Twice this mound was excavated—first by Sir John Marshall in 1902-3, when he discovered some materials of the late historical period, and second by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in 1958, when he laid a vertical trench to find out the depth of the cultural deposit. Sir Mortimer traces the material of the western mound to

the iron age and dates its beginning to about the 6th century B.C., but his excavation did not reveal any earlier strata. According to him this was the city invested by Alexander's generals. In the 3rd-2nd century B.C. the eastern mound, which was separated from the western at this time by a river (now dried up), assumed importance, but not for long. Though the Buddhist remains, and even traces of Muslim and Sikh occupation are seen on the top, it is suggested that the main centre of activity had shifted by or before the 1st century B.C. to another site at *Shaikhhan Dheri*, north of the river Sambor, now a marshy channel, which separates *Bala-Hisar* from *Shaikhhan Dheri*.

Shaikhhan Dheri cannot be approached from this side. The visitor must return to the main road, cross the river Jinde and have a view of the vast accumulation of the graves in the plain beyond the bridge. Then going north-eastwards through the market town on the road that leads to Tangi, the visitor turns on to a *kacha* road towards the village of *Rajar*, recrosses the river Jinde and finally comes to the low mound of *Shaikhhan Dheri*, one part of which is again occupied by modern graves and another ruined by the villagers for the profit of some building materials or a lucky chance of gold jewellery or coins. Fortunately it is this demolition of the villagers which showed so clearly in the aerial photograph (pl II) and led Sir Mortimer Wheeler to recognise the Indo-Greek pattern of the buried city in this mound. An earlier discovery of a hoard of coins belonging to the Indo-Greek rulers had already hinted at this identification. But this mound is caught up between two rivers, Sambor on the south and Jinde on the east. The consequent changes in these rivers did not allow the city to flourish long.

Rajar itself on the opposite side of the river Jinde is a tolerably conspicuous mound but it is today almost

covered by the modern village. The area which is unoccupied is being fast levelled by the villagers in order to obtain some soil of the quality of an imperfect fertiliser, little realising how much historical evidence of their own cultural heritage they are themselves destroying. Further away to the north the mounds of *Mir Ziarat* and *Shahr-i-Napursan* still defy the ravages of time and also of the human hand for they too are covered by modern graves: this last custom again stands in the way of their exploration and excavation. In Sir John Marshall's excavation at *Mir Ziarat* in 1902-3 the coins of the Indo-Greeks, the Scythians and also of the early Kushana rulers were found. Another find at *Rajar* of a hoard of coins belonging to the Indo-Greeks, Scythians, and the Kushanas suggests that the city survived here longer than at *Shaikhan Dheri*.

On his way back from these mounds the visitor can turn on to Takht-bahi road and stop after about a mile to see the ruins of two Buddhist stupa mounds—*Palatu Dheri* on the left and *Ghaz Dheri* on the right. The latter was partially excavated by Sir John Marshall. The grandeur of the old stupas is described by Hiuen Tsang (see below). Beautiful Buddhist sculptures have been obtained from this site. The sculptures illustrated here (pls. III-V) come from this place. Such Buddhist stupas of the Kushana period are scattered widely in this part (see map)

The visitor may now turn back and pass again the modern graves of Charsadda. This vast plain, on which the new town is also situated, away from the vagaries of the rivers, makes a great contrast with the high mounds of the ancient ruins lying close to the river beds. This advantage probably explains the location of modern Charsadda at this spot. Here the claims of the dead are weightier than the claims of the living, and it is more in the numberless graves than



AERIAL VIEW OF SHAIKHAN DHERI

in the modern town that we have a glimpse of the continuing greatness that once belonged to Pushkalavati. Day after day and year after year the dead have been brought from far off places to be buried here by men who do not know the reason for choosing this place. Human memory has failed, but there is something in the air which has attracted man throughout the centuries probably to keep the continuity with the dead past of the old city. The *Ashtakas* were killed and destroyed, but humanity has brought together the conquered and the descendants of the conquerors to lie side by side in the bosom of the mother earth. Tradition has proved stronger than man, but it has left a very faint trace to be recognised in the survival of the dubious name *Ash-nagar*.

There still remains one last place to be seen, hidden behind these graves but even now standing aloft, at the village of *Prang* about a mile to the east of the main road. The modern village is perched on a part of the mound. The evidence here is clear, that the main mound was dissected by an intruding river which has left behind deposits of sand in its old track. The northern part of the mound is intact because it is covered by graves, but the southern one is being gradually denuded of its earth to serve as manure in the fields. Standing on the top of the mound, the visitor can see the vast expanse of the river that must have once flowed beneath the ramparts of this city. Here once met the two mighty rivers, Kabul and Swat, and the confluence gave rise to the old sacred spot known today as *Prang*, an obvious corruption of the word *Prayag* (>*Prag*>*Prang*), which at once recalls its namesake at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamuna near Allahabad in north India. What kind of sacredness was attached to it in the past, is little known today, but the huge mound bears witness to its continuous occupation from of old. And the name itself is very significant.

We have now completed our visit to ancient Pushkalavati—over the ruins from one bank of the river to another. We were on the track of the city from century to century although we are not yet very clear about its beginnings. The mounds still conceal the secrets of its origin, and the traces of its cultural growth lie entombed within them just as the numerous graves in this area preserve the skeletal remains of long forgotten people. The graves are sacred, and so are the mounds, because both together complete a record of the civilisation that belongs to Gandhara. It is through them that we will lay the foundation of the true history of Pushkalavati. Meanwhile in honour of the dead past nature has spread a mantle of lotuses (*pushkala*) in the rivers and ponds around—the lotuses which have been a constant companion of the old city. It may well be that the presence of these lotuses gave rise to the name of Pushkalavati (*Pushkalavat* meaning 'full of lotuses', and hence) a city of lotuses. The lotus so dominated the mind of the old people that it created in popular imagination a goddess of the city, named in the coin (pl. I) as *Pukhalavadi-devada*, meaning 'the city-goddess of Pushkalavati'. The goddess personifies the lotus city. But the important tutelary deity was the bull, named *vrishabha* in the coin below the figure. The significance of this bull is not clear, unless it is merely symbolic and has some association with the Hindu god Siva, as is later known in the coinage of the Kushanas.

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BULL CAPITAL



BUDDHA

HISTORICAL

Pushkalavati is first mentioned in the Hindu Puranic accounts. The *Ramayana*, one of the Indian epics, credits Bharata, a brother of Ramachandra, with the conquest of *Gandharvadesa* (probably Gandhara) and the foundation of two cities *Taksha* and *Pushkala* named after his two sons. The same tradition is recorded by Kalidasa in his great poetic work *Raghuvamsa*.

However, the first historical figure found in literature is named *Pukkusati* (probably correctly *Pushkara-sakti*, or *Pushkara-sarin* as has been given by other historians). The name *Pushkara-sakti*, meaning 'the might of Pushkara' is very significant and may have been derived from that of the city. He flourished in the 6th century B.C., and was a contemporary of Bimbisara, the great ruler of Magadha (South Bihar), with whom he had established diplomatic relations and probably also some kind of alliance. This Magadhan friendship increased his power, and he defeated the common enemy, king Pradyota of Avanti, western Malwa in India. His far-flung campaign invited an enemy from near at hand, the *Pandavas*, who occupied a part of the Panjab. The end of *Pushkara-sakti* is not known to history. Perhaps his kingdom succumbed to the onslaughts of the expanding Achaemenian power of Persia.

On the Persian conquest of this part we have the authority of Arrian, who informs us that "the district west of the river Indus as far as the river Cophen (Kabul) is inhabited by the Astacenians (*Ashtakas*) and the Assacenians (*Asvakas*), Indian tribes. These were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally they submitted to the

Persians, and paid tribute to Cyrus, the son of Cambyzes as ruler of their land." Herodotus gives further detail about the reign of Darius, who "being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly setting out from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Paktyike (*Pakthus*) sailed down the river towards the east and sunrise to the sea; then sailing on the sea westwards, they arrived in the thirtieth month at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phoenicians to sail round Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented the sea." Herodotus further tells us that "India" (*Hindush* or the Indus Valley) constituted the twentieth and the most populous satrapy of the Persian empire, while Gandhara was included in the seventh satrapy. Xerxes (486-465 B.C.), the son and successor of Darius, maintained his hold on these provinces. In the great army which he led against Hellas both Gandhara and "India" were represented. The Gandharians are described by Herodotus as bearing bows of reed and short spears, and the "Indians" as being clad in cotton garments and bearing cane bows with arrows tipped with iron. The Persians continued to exercise their control over these parts till the end of their rule. We have evidence of the time of Artaxerxes II, Mnemon (405-358 B.C.), in whose inscription the Sattagydians, the Gandharians and the Hidus are mentioned as subject peoples. It is probable that the Persian hold over this region, however loose it might have been, continued until their defeat at the hand of Alexander the Great.

Alexander's invasion had a tremendous effect on the future history of Gandhara. Though Alexander never came personally to Pushkalavati, he sent a strong force to reduce it. Arrian informs us that, "He



TURBAN CULT



FEEDING A LEOGRYPH

(Alexander) divided his army, and sent Hephaestion and Perdiccas away into the land of Peucelaotis, towards the river Indus with the brigades of Georgias, Clitus and Meleager, half of the Companion Cavalry, and all the cavalry of the Grecian mercenaries. He gave them instructions either to capture the places on their route by force, or to bring them over on terms of capitulation; and when they reached the river Indus, to make the necessary preparations for the passage of the army. With them Taxiles and the other chiefs also marched. When they reached the river Indus, they carried out all Alexander's orders. But Astes, the ruler of the land of Peucelaotis effected a revolt, which both ruined himself and brought ruin also upon the city into which he had fled for refuge. For Hephaestion captured it after a siege of thirty days, and Astes himself was killed. Sangaeus, who had sometime before fled from Astes and deserted to Taxiles, was appointed to take charge of the city. This desertion was a pledge to Alexander of his fidelity." Here the defeated ruler Astes is to be identified with *Ashtaka*, or more properly *Ashtaka-rajā*, and the deserter Sangaeus is corrected as *Sanjaya* who had the good fortune to grind his axe against his rival Astes. But he was not to enjoy this privilege for long.

There is little doubt that *Sanjaya* was washed away with the overthrow of the Greek power by the great Mauryan tide that rose with Chandragupta Maurya in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. Nothing is recorded about the Mauryan period of the history of Pushkalavati except that the pious ruler Asoka sent his mission into this part for the propagation of his *dhamma*. However, it is known that Asoka was sent to Taxila to quell a rebellion in his youth and left there an inscription in the Aramaic language, and that he later caused a rock edict to be cut at Shahbazgarhi, about ten miles from Mardan. He is also credited in

later tradition with the foundation of numerous Buddhist stupas in this area (see below).

The Mauryan occupation was a short-lived affair, which lasted hardly a century. It did not wipe out Greek influence from this region, but only temporarily stemmed the tide of further Greek advance. The end of the Mauryan rule was followed immediately by an invasion of the Greeks from their neighbouring colony in Bactria. For the next two centuries the Greeks were the dominant power in Gandhara. Sir William Tarn draws a beautiful account of this period, "Gandhara, the country between the Kunar river and the Indus, comprising the modern Bajaur, Swat, Buner, the Yusufzai country, and the country south of the Kabul river about Peshawar, was to be one of the strongholds of Greek power; it has been called a kind of new Hellas. Asoka had converted much of the country, and it became to Buddhists a second Holy Land, where rose three of the four great stupas which recorded Buddha's charity with his own body in earlier incarnations, those of the body-gift at Manikyala, the flesh-gift at (probably) Girarai in the hills between Peshawar and Buner (most probably in the vicinity of Mardan, which is to be corrected as *Amara-dana*, meaning the immortal gift), and the Eye-gift; this last may have towered aloft on the acropolis of what was to be the Greek capital, Pushkalavati, rendering, as has been said, 'still more striking its resemblance to its more famous Athenian counterpart.' But Pushkalavati, like Taxila, was only partially Buddhist; Siva was still powerful enough there for his humped bull to become the coin-type of the Greek mint, while the Greeks were to worship Artemis as their city goddess But, unlike Taxila, Pushkalavati became a Greek *Polis* (doubtless somewhat of the type of Susa), as is shown by the Fortune of the city on the kings' coins; the solitary coin of the city itself which exists to prove that it was once for a time completely inde-



GARLAND BEARING CUPIDS



LOTUS AND WARRIOR

pendent shows, beside Siva's bull, the Fortune of the 'city of lotuses' with her mural crown, holding in her hand the lotus of Lakshmi. Evidently Pushkalavati, when a Greek *Polis*, was no less proud of her alien deities than Ephesus of her alien Artemis, and Siva's bull is a parallel to Artemis' bee on the coins of the Ionian city. as it (Pushkalavati) and not Purushapura (Peshawar) became the Greek capital, the regular Greek line of communication westward probably did not run through the Khyber pass but by the route which Alexander had followed more to the northward".

Professor Rapson further discusses this point: "The Bull, like the elephant, is a common emblem in Indian mythology, and is associated with the deities worshipped by various sects; but in this case it would seem undoubtedly to be the bull of Siva; for the coin-type passed from the *yavanas* and their successors, the Sakas to the Kushana kings who added the figure of the god himself. The bull continued to appear on the coins of this region for many centuries. It is seen on the 'Bull and horseman' coins of the Shahis of Gandhara as late as the eleventh century A.D., and from them it is borrowed by the early Muhammadan conquerors."

The first Greek ruler whose coins show this bull motif is Heliocles, who was the son of Eucratidus. The successors of Heliocles, who are known from their bull type of coins to have ruled over the kingdom of Pushkalavati, are Diomedes, Epander, Philoxenus, Artemidorus and Peucalaus. Prof Rapson remarks that "the figure of Artemis, which occurs on the coins of Artemidorus, bears an evident allusion to the king's name; and, since it is found also on the coins of Peucalaus, it shows that the Greeks identified the city goddess with Artemis. The association of Peucalaus with Pushkalavati is proclaimed by his name, which is simply

the adjective of Peucolaitis, an alternative form of the Greek Peucelaotis."

This kingdom was wrested from the Greeks by the first Saka king, Maues, who imitates the coin type of Artemidorus—"Artemis—Indian bull", and the date of this event is generally put at 75 B.C. Pushkalavati remained an important seat under the Saka-Pahlava successors of Maues and even during the early years of the Kushana rule. The Kushana rule was established in Gandhara during the course of the first century A.D., when Kujula Kadphises, already at an advanced age, invaded it from the direction of Kabul. Their second ruler Wima Kadphises introduced the 'bull and Siva' type of coinage in this part. But the great Kushana ruler Kanishka chose to bestow all his attention to Purushapura (Peshawar) where he built a magnificent Buddhist *vihara*. The find of the Kushana period sculptures in Pushkalavati suggests that the town was not completely given up. It seems that only the administrative capital shifted to Peshawar. Henceforth Peshawar was to be the most important city in Gandhara. The old greatness of Pushkalavati was passed on to another capital town, only the tradition of *Ash-nagar* was left behind.

The last description of the city is obtained from the account of Hiuen Tsang, which runs: "It (Pushkalavati) is about 14 or 15 li in circuit; the population is large; the inner gates are connected by a hollow (tunnel?). Outside the western gate is a Deva temple. The image of the god is imposing and works constant miracles. (Here the pilgrim is speaking of a Hindu temple probably belonging to the god Siva). To the east of the city is a stupa built by Asoka-*raja*. This is the place where the four former Buddhas delivered the law. Among the former saints and sages many have come (descended spiritually) from Mid-India to this place to instruct all creatures. For



FIGHTING SWORDSMEN
(on a pot)



HORSEMAN AND ANIMALS
(on a pot)

example, Vasumitra, doctor of *Sastras*, who composed the *Abhidharmaparakaranapada* in this place. To the north of the town 4 or 5 li is an old *sangharama* (monastery), of which the halls are deserted and cold. There are very few priests in it, and all of them follow the teaching of the Little Vehicle. Dharmatrata, the master of *Sastras*, here composed the *Samyuktabhidharma Sastra*. By the side of the *sangharama* is a stupa several hundred feet high, which was built by Asokaraja. It is made of carved wood and veined stone, the work of various artists. Sakya Buddha, in old time when king of this country, prepared himself as a *Bodhisattva* (Buddha-to-be). He gave up all he had at the request of those who asked, and spared not to sacrifice his own body as a bequeathed gift. Having been born in this country a thousand times as king, he gave during each of those thousand births in this excellent country, his eyes, as an offering.

"Going not far east from this, there are two stone stupas (these are the mounds on Takht-bahi road), each about 100 feet in height. The right-hand one was built by Brahma Deva, that on the left by Sakra (king of Devas). They were both adorned with jewels and gems. After Buddha's death these jewels changed themselves into ordinary stones. Although the buildings are in a ruinous condition, still they are of a considerable height and grandeur. Going northwest about 50 li from these stupas, there is another stupa. Here Sakya Tathagata converted the Mother of the demons and caused her to refrain from hunting men. It is for this reason the common folk of this country offer sacrifices to obtain children from her. Going north 50 li or so from this, there is another stupa. It was here Samaka Bodhisattva, walking piously, nourished as a boy his blind father and mother. One day when gathering fruits for them, he encountered the king as he was hunting, who wounded him by mistake with a poisoned arrow. By means of the spiritual power of his

great faith he was restored to health through some medicaments which Indra, moved by his holy conduct, applied to the wound."

With this description the curtain on the history of Pushkalavati drops, and we hear no more of the city.

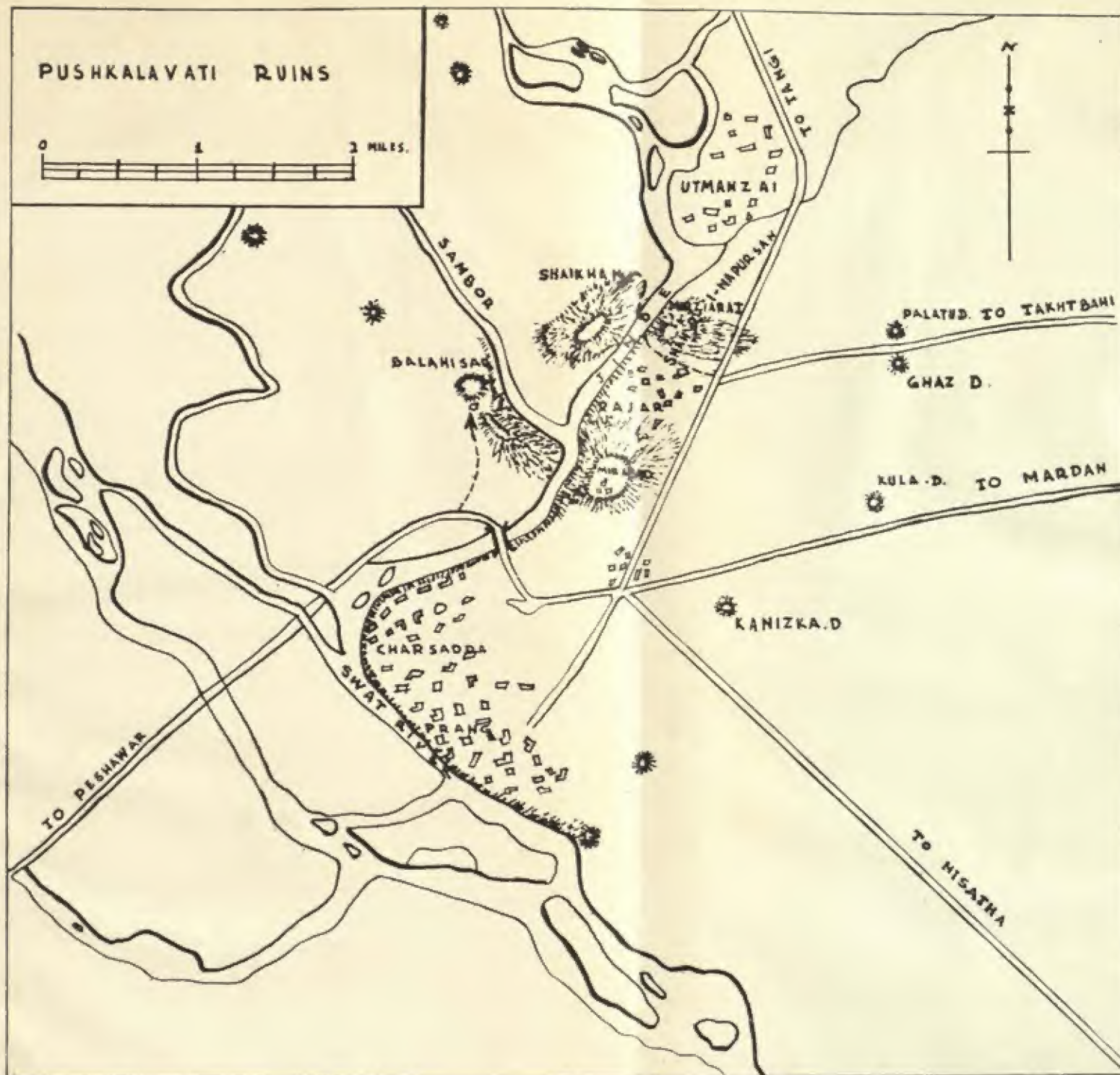
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Old glories are gone, and yet old traditions survive in a peculiar way. The old city lies buried in the mounds, and the generations of peoples lie asleep in graves one above the other. The whole civilisation of the past is entombed in ruins that now stand above ground. It is there to be discovered and recognized by us, and to be identified with the different scenes in the great drama of history. Over them all bloom forth the lotuses (*pushkala*) in the ponds and rivers reminding us of the time when here flourished Pushkalavati.



PUSHKALAVATI RUINS

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